DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 202 495 JC 810 216

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TITLE Community College Vocational Education 1980's: Crucial Variables and Faculty Growth.
PUB DATE 25 Mar 81
NOTE 21p.; Paper prepared for the Annual Community College Research Conference (Monterey, CA, March 25-27, 1981).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Achievement; Access to Education; College Faculty; *Educational Counseling; Educational History; Educational Trends; *Faculty Development; *Individualized Instruction; Models; Social Stratification; Socioeconomic Influences; Student Educational Objectives; Two Year Colleges; Two Year College Students; *Vocational Education

ABSTRACT

After examining societal factors that shape the role of vocational education, this paper presents instructional delivery and faculty development models designed to meet the vocational education needs of contemporary society. The report first identifies, as part of a model for educational viability, three forces affecting vocational programming: society's demands for a trained workforce, the individual's demands for fulfilling employment and upward mobility, and the subject matter taught in response to the demands of both. The interaction of these forces is then examined in an historical review of the development of vocationalism in American higher education. A discussion follows of forces currently affecting vocational education, including increasing fiscal conservatism and the diversity of students and their needs and demands. The paper then presents four models for increasing educational effectiveness: (1) a student achievement model, which depicts student success as a function of his/her ability to define and work toward personal goals; (2) a model for individualized instruction, which gears the instructional and adjunct operations of a college toward meeting the learning objectives of students; (3) a counseling model designed to increase retention by helping the student to set and achieve realistic goals; and (4) a faculty growth model, which provides incentives and support. Diagrams illustrate the models. (JP)

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COMMUNITY COLLEGE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION 1980's
CRUCIAL VARIABLES AND FACULTY GROWTH

Prepared for the 1981 CCJCA R & D Commission
Annual Community College Research Conference
Asilomar, California
March 25-27, 1981

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Current research assessing the value of postsecondary vocational education focusses on its contribution to society or to its student participants. It reaches conflicting conclusions as to whose interests and which principles are served according to the researcher's theoretical orientation and disciplinary approach. The usual opposing interests cited are business and industry's need for a subservient, specialized workforce versus the individual's need for fulfilling, upwardly mobile employment. The opposing principles are political equity guaranteeing equal opportunity versus the capitalistic system's perpetuation of an economically-stratified, class-based job market. Traditionalist findings conclude that the community college curriculum responds through diversification to student demands and equity by meeting individual objectives for satisfying remunerative employment. Critics findings counter such claims, concluding that the curriculum reenforces "dual historical patterns of class-based tracking and educational inflation."[1]

This controversy, questioning vocationalism's purpose and impact, is rooted in postsecondary education's history and will not be resolved in the 80's. It calls upon educators, particularly educational researchers, to investigate the interactions among societal forces, the changing socio-technical demands of the workplace, and workers increasing demands to improve the quality of worklife. For educators, the workplace includes the college classrooms, laboratories and shops. Faculty can redesign the curriculum and instruction to bring about student learning and achievement that will contribute to the creative growth needs of teacher as well as learner, but they require institutional incentive and support systems. Institutional research can contribute to this process by providing information for faculty and management that will demonstrate the need, and support implementation of adaptive systems.

This paper presents a framework for analysis that diagrams relationships among society, student and subject matter. It supports the framework's utility with a historical review of interaction among political and economic forces, demands of expanding and increasingly heterogeneous student populations, and the work related curricular change. It analyzes political, economic and social pressures that will impact Vocational Education in the community colleges; describes some models for educational services that accommodate achievement for heterogeneous

student populations; and proposes a model to encourage and support faculty efforts to restructure curriculum and instruction to address environmental and student demands for change.

The Educational Viability Model,[2] Exhibit 1, diagrams the three critical referents that must be considered in constant interaction. They are the "Society To Be Served"; the "Learner To Be Taught" and the "Knowledge To Be Taught". The Student Achievement and service models have been developed through applied research in attempt to synthesize historical dualisms by subjecting the interests of society, student and faculty to continuing inquiry that will support cooperative creative use of combined resources. Action based on such inquiry is essential to maintain open responsive educational systems that will revitalize flagging approval and support by the three critical constituencies.

Historical Review

Vocationalisms impact on the college curriculum has generated controversy since students first questioned the relevance of the proscribed classical content that prepared an elite class to govern or enter the clergy. Government supported vocational education, initiated after the Civil War by the Morrill Acts, gave rise to challenges concerning the curriculum's impact on societal stratification and segregation. Expanded funding following World War II opened higher educations' doors to the masses, but critics charge it channeled them into terminal programs and jobs that served industry more than the individual. Current controversies question the effectiveness of community colleges use of massive funding as real contributions to societal goals, economic productivity or individual student gain.

Rudolf, in his history of the American undergraduate curriculum, describes a symbiotic relationship between the curriculum and society over time with "the curriculum responding to the society and in turn shaping that society"[3]. The evolving Eighteenth Century culture of a nascent nation, expanding to populate frontier lands, demanded practical applications for a college education. Kings College responded to these demands in 1754 with a course of study "of everything useful"[4] including surveying, navigation, husbandry and commerce; and Thomas Jefferson transformed the College of William and Mary in 1779, introducing an elective system and studies in public administration, medicine and law. Challenged by traditionalists and church related governing bodies, these and

EXHIBIT I

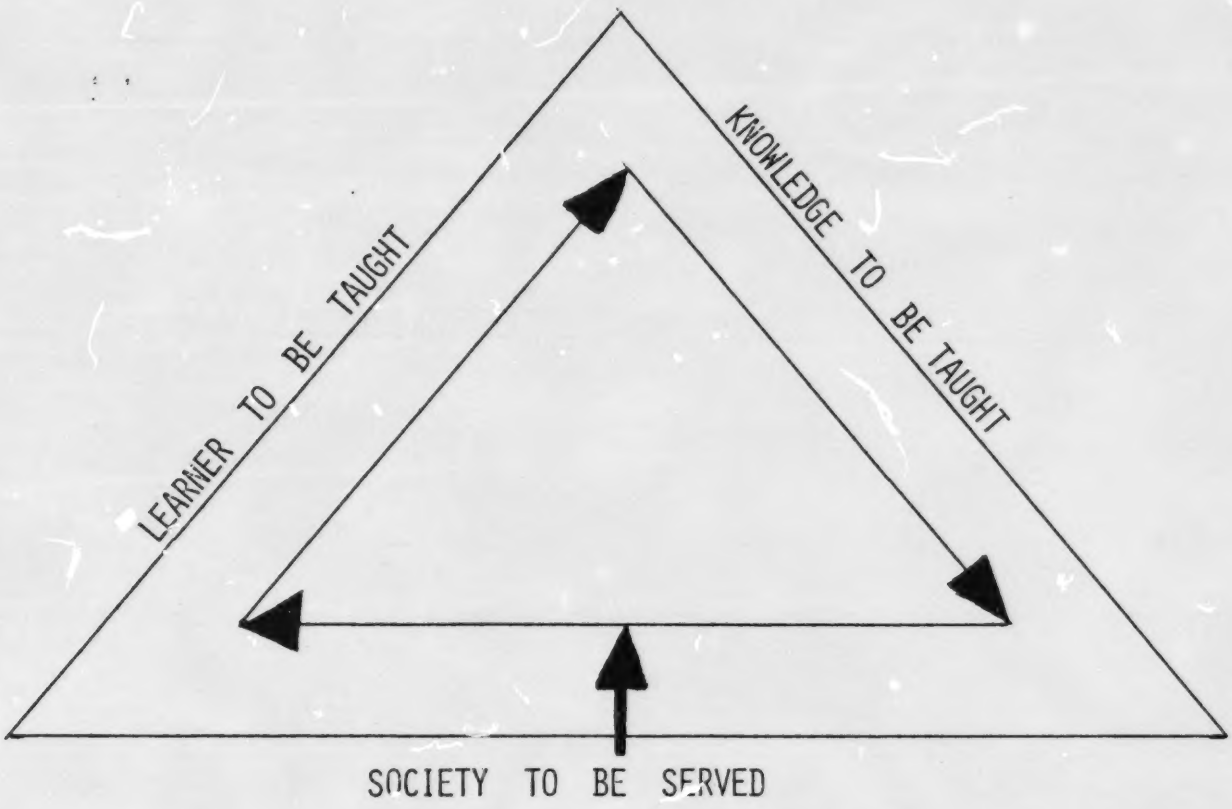
EDUCATIONAL VIABILITY MODEL

THE THREE CRITICAL REFERENTS CONSIDERED IN CONSTANT INTERACTION ARE:

1) . . . the nature of the society to be served (and in which the learner must live),

2) . . . the nature of the learner to be taught,

3) . . . the nature of the knowledge to be taught.*



*Kaufman, Corrigan, and Johnson, 1969.

a myriad of short-lived creative curricular responses tested models, developed the educational context, and prepared faculties for the revolutionary expansion of post-Civil War vocationalism.

Resources fueling the revolution came from the Morrill Federal Land Grant Act of 1862 that gave states the proceeds from 17,430,000 federal acres to support colleges offering agricultural and mechanical training. Massachusetts founded an agricultural college and Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Wisconsin and Minnesota expanded existing state universities; Indiana and New York combined land grant moneys with private endowments to found Purdue and Cornell. Colleges, thus spawned to meet society's need for a trained middle class, blurred the distinction between professional and vocational education.

In contrast, the second Morrill Act of 1870 gave land to the states to establish segregated teaching and vocational colleges for blacks. Booker T. Washington's "Manual Training" accommodationist philosophy as embodied at Tuskegee and Hampton Institute set the model acceptable to southern educators and white industrialists. Their purposes were "to attach the Negro to the soil and prevent his exodus from the country to the city ... to help the Negro fit his environment ... and to train black laborers as a potential force to protect the southern economy and the nation against the unreasonable demands by white unionized labor"[5]. Dubois and the Niagara Movement provided the counterforce that established black professional training at Howard and Atlanta seeing "education as the development of power and ideal".[6]

Vocationalism took many forms during the first half of the twentieth century. Stanford accepted woodworking, forgework and machine shop as credit toward the BA to be "responsive to the interests of western democracy." Community colleges, established at Joliet in 1901 and Fresno in 1910, made efforts to attract students of the Depression through vocational offerings. It was the mass of returning World War II veterans, however, using the GI Bill that caused such enrollments to explode. The Truman Commission Report of 1947 set forth the multiple themes used to justify the massive expansion of government funding to support the booming growth of two year occupational education: "diversity" in higher education through "the right to choose", "universal access through 'low cost community colleges'".[7]

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 shifted federal funding from manpower training, meeting employer demands, to postsecondary education to prepare individuals for appropriate careers, and the 1968 Act, 1976 Amendments and the Higher Education Act of 1972 expanded and refined authorizations. Community colleges responded with a proliferation of occupational curriculae and initiation of multiple services "to meet the needs" of particular categories of 200,000 students enrolled in 1977 supported by $5 billion VEA dollars.

Reports of the National Advisory Council Vocational Education in 1969 urged the federal government "to allocate more of its funds to cure our country of our national sin of intellectual snobbery ... (and) ... challenge State and local governments to throw off old habits and take a hard, fresh look at what they are doing in vocational education".[8] These reports mirrored the 1914 Report of the National Aid to Vocational Education citing the same problems "Racial unrest, violence and the unemployment of youth have their roots in inadequate education".[9] It warns that "development of separate programs for the disadvantaged ... (that tell them) ... they are second class citizens who cannot make it in the mainstream ... shuts the door to career advancement"[10] and perpetuates the flow of youth, particularly minorities into the pool of unemployed.

The Vocational Education Association charges, however, that federal Vocational Education investments decreased from 9.2% of 1969 educational expenditures to 5.5% in 1980, and programs for "disadvantaged" were a major source for college resource acquisition in the 70's. Researchers must question the purpose and outcome.

Institutionally sponsored research indicates that curricular adaptations have attended these concerns. A California Statewide Longitudinal Study finds "that the mission of community colleges is determined to a far greater extent by the students than by other groups"[11] i.e. policy makers, administration or faculty. Throughout the state, researchers report that vocational students (as compared to all others) complete their self-determined goals more successfully and are working in higher paid more highly skilled jobs. The vocational curriculum thus demonstrates an increasing diversity in response to the complexity of an ever more heterogeneous society.

Pincus, using extensive documentation to analyze the degree to which community college vocational education fulfills its promised contribution to equity

concludes that business and government leaders use vocational education to channel minority and working class people into middle level jobs. Their purpose is to resolve political and economic problems and control student unrest and political upheaval by diminishing aspiration and diverting challenges away from ranks of management and control. Radical sociologist, Poulantzas, however, supports the symbiotic rationale and proposes that in a capitalistic system "educational policy is not a coherent and uniform response of the dominant interest in this country . . . so much as it is the outcome of an incoherent irrational and contradictory process".[12] The incongruence among goals of society, institution, teachers, and students generates irrational fragmented administration. His analysis supports Dewey's 1930's admonition that the separation of head and hand through vocational training would contribute to perpetuation of a class divided society.

The Society To Be Served

The pendulum has swung from the past twenty years' liberal philosophy to a growing conservatism. Reagan administrative policies attest to basic changes in America's political climate that will shape American society over the next decade. Most are linked to competing demands for scarce financial resources, and the forces engendered will impact the overall functions of California community colleges. Major political trends are fiscal austerity, sweeping public sector cutbacks, shifts from social to military goals and allocations, hostility toward government's bureaucratic intervention, and a nation-wide interest in jobs. Increased productivity is posited as the thrust of the decade that will replace the 1970's focus on equity. Demographic and social changes wrought through the period of the liberal idealogy, however, have introduced a breadth of constituencies that will provide strong counterforces to the "new conservatism" and interact to shape educational functions.

California community colleges, the "open door" to higher education and avenue of access to jobs and economic equality for the poor and minorities, will have to compete for shrinking state dollars and new student populations to maintain their positions in the 1980's postsecondary marketplace. Shifts in funding sources and patterns, public priorities, and changing demographics will realign political forces to press for complementary socio-technical alterations that accommodate changing environmental demands. Information predicting these future environmental conditions is the foundation required to plan evolutionary adaptation that will

forestall reactionary intransigence.

Recent changes predict the ways political values will determine financial policies. California voters' Proposition 13 message shifted the tax burden from local property to the state, thus increasing the state's share of community colleges' $1,246 billion expenditures from 38% to 65%. This shift trebled community colleges share of total state spending over the past two decades from 1.3% to 4.3% thus exceeding for the first time the amounts alloted to each of the other two postsecondary segments.[13] State expenditure predictions are not available and financial forecasting is thwarted by the political rivalries among the legislature, the governor's office and the Department of Finance. Budget allocations continue to be bartered well after the start of the fiscal year. Contention to increase their shares by the politically powerful U.C. and CSUC systems promise fiscal instability throughout the decade.

Nationwide projections indicate that higher education expenditures will not continue to expand as they have through the past twenty years. They are expected to increase from $48.6 billion in 1980-81 to a high of $49 billion in 1983-84 and drop off to $48 billion by 1986-87. California, having exhausted its surplus, may precede the national trend by decreasing higher education's total allotment in 1981-82.[14] If so, each segment may be expected to fight to expand its' designated function and broaden its' potential student market to increase enrollments thereby protecting its personnel's jobs. Pressures may develop to move to a single post-secondary system similar to the State University of New York model. Support for the concept could grow if university faculty organize and demand remuneration commensurate with that of their community college counterparts.

Vocational Education as a major funding source is subject to the charging political climate. Community colleges have depended on federal Vocational Education moneys for occupational equipment, program development and support services. Legislators developing the new Vocational Education Act for the 1980's are under great pressure to shift a significant portion of future funding from the public to the private sector. Industry as well as proprietary schools is increasing the extent and subject matter of employee educational programs. Occupational Outlook Quarterly reports that in almost all employment fields prospects from 1978 to 1990 stress increasing computerization and automation bringing a concurrent demand for workers with higher levels of literacy, numeracy and college training. Many industries and

proprietary schools, responding more rapidly to current conditions than do colleges, are in the forefront of pedagogical change. It is industry that establishes basic as well as vocational skill competency levels required for employment, and they may imitate the Detroit auto industry model by establishing their own degree granting colleges or institutes tailored to their particular interests.

Industries accounting for 80% of the predicted 1.847 million new jobs to be created over the next five are Transportation, Communications, and Utilities, 17.5%, Trade, 27.1%, and Services, 35.6%. They all demand specialized training. Hodgkinson predicts that similar to an improved quality of work life, education will be "seen as a social service which is owed to the worker".[15] Industry will compete with colleges for the qualified high school students to employ and educate them in their own systems. In the conservative 1980's private industry would have a much more attentive ear and access to the purse strings than postsecondary educators to receive federal assistance to train America's workforce.

Students To Be Taught

Changing demography will bring political demands arising from differing cultural perspectives and power alignments. Women, minorities and immigrants (legal and undocumented) are growing in numbers and they will gain impact as their political sophistication increases through the decade ahead. Long range projection indicates that California's population will grow by 8.9 million before the year 2,000 A.D. More than a quarter of the growth will occur in Los Angeles and Orange Counties. Major increases will be in the age groups 25 to 44 (42%), 45 to 64 (70%), and over 65 (63%). This will increase their share of the workforce to 53%. They will induce differing values and social relationships to the workplace and require new kinds of education.

Based on the admittedly poor data available, Los Angeles County has estimated that in 1980 Hispanic comprise 28.8% of its total population, Asians, 4% and Blacks, 16%. College education has been expanding about 4% to 5% per decade since 1950. Asians, the most rapidly expanding subpopulation (proportional to size) has the greatest educational attainment.[16] Blacks are the only group expected to maintain their proportional representation in the total population as other minorities increase. The statewide picture reflects that in Los Angeles, Hispanics, Asians, and other linguistic minorities will continue to expand as the Anglo share of the

population declines. California Postsecondary Education Commission estimates that Hispanics will comprise one-quarter of the state's population by 1985.[17] Minority enrollments in the community college system reported for 1978 were about 9% Hispanic, 8.5% Black, and 4.4% Asian.[18] These are only estimates because colleges have interpreted civil rights legislation to make student declaration of ethnicity voluntary even though federal and state regulations require that such information be reported in great detail.

Whatever their exact numbers, each of these groups is learning to manipulate the political process to impact schooling. Effective use of the English language is a major concern that will gain credence from their political action. Leaders recognize that communication skills are essential for job and educational equity. The Chronicle of Higher Education (2/2/1981) quotes leading educators searching for ways to reverse the critical decline in literacy, tell colleagues to "stop looking outside educational institutions for a place to put the blame for the deterioration of English ... and work to solve the problem themselves." California community college trustees, adminitrators, faculty and students as represented in the CCJCA Delegate Assembly fail to recognize such expanding societal demands. They rated meeting community needs for Multi-Cultural, Multi-Lingual Education forty-third in priority of fifty-six critical issues facing the system in the 1980's.

Typical of urban community colleges, Los Angeles Harbor College serves a multi-cultural community reflected in enrollments that are 18% Asian, 17% Black, 20% Hispanic and 45% Anglo, and socio-economic areas including areas of highest and lowest incomes and average educational levels in the state.

The Student Achievement Model, Exhibit 2, diagrams individual student needs for successful educational progress and development of full learning potential. It hypothesizes that each successful student needs to define personal goals, needs to be able to work out a realistic plan to work toward those goals, and needs to have a human reference or support group that cares whether he or she moves toward those goals. Based on self-actualization literature and strengthened by applied research, the model serves as an integral construct for program and service design.

Knowledge To Be Taught

The college continues research that addresses these concerns and plans educational

EXHIBIT 2

STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT MODEL

THREE CRITICAL NEEDS FOR SUCCESSFUL PROGRESS

1) GOALS

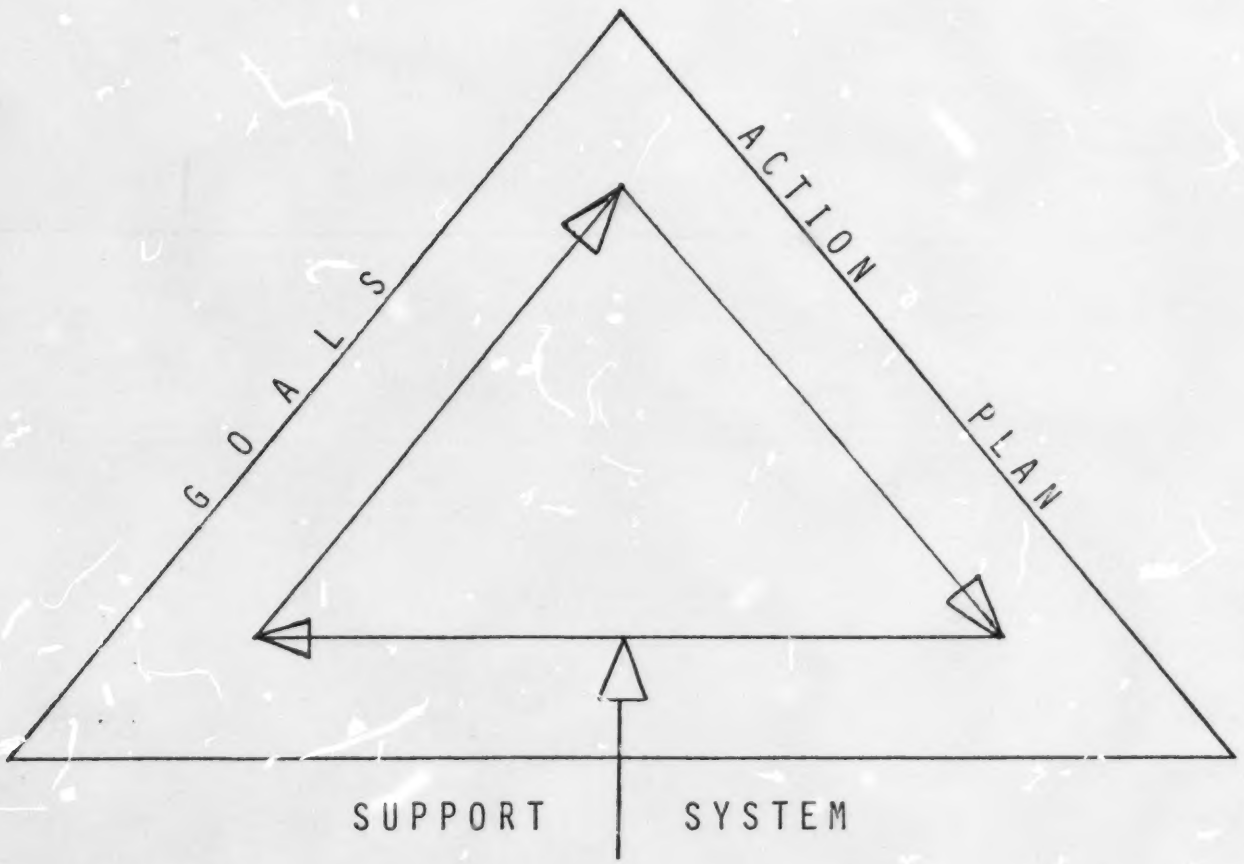
Effective accomplishment requires motivation, direction, and belief in self and education.

2) ACTION PLAN

To gain from learning experience requires information and understanding to make effective use of personal and educational resources (self-discipline, problem solving, coping skills).

3) SUPPORT SYSTEM

To build self-respect and confidence requires linkages to peers, faculty, counselors . . . belief that someone cares that the student is here and cares how well he or she is doing.



models that afford assessment according to the actual learning of this increasingly heterogeneous student body and individual student needs. It determined educational objectives perceived by students. Two independent surveys were conducted using different sampling techniques to ascertain the objectives of the student population at point of enrollment and the population left at finals week. Personal characteristics of respondents were related to the student body and to the prime service area according to their residence by Zipcode. Information generated from this study provides a matrix by student characteristics (age, ethnicity, educational background, employment and residence) of the importance of (1) individual or clustered learning objectives, (2) credit objectives, and (3) the use and perceived helpfulness of support services.

The second phase determined the importance given student objectives by college faculty for allocation of resources to bring about their accomplishment. Development of basic skills, reading, English, mathematics and study skills, were objectives found most important. Students focused on affective development. Objectives among the top ten of all groups surveyed were pooled to form the basis for a faculty workshop to develop outcome measures that synthesize student objectives with course content to determine competency specified by the instructor for a given course of instruction.

The process led to design and testing of the Student Centered Model For A System Of Individualized Instruction, Exhibit 3. Each block (Roman numerals) is defined by persons responsible for carrying it out. There are alternative definitions of a particular component according to course content and concerns of the instructor or the students served. Procedural guidelines are explored and delineated to build the pattern of tie lines required to make the system work effectively for students and college personnel. The model provides a definitive base to strengthen or alter interaction among classroom instruction and adjunct services according to their contribution to learning for all levels or categories of students. It provides the framework to assess need for resource allocation and the context from which to seek and institutionalize external resources. Faculty determine competencies through assessment of changing external demands and opportunities. They use established educational standards to integrate them into course work. Programs implementing the model have demonstrated consistenly an 85% retention rate for students not expected to succeed in regular coursework. The Counseling model, Exhibit 4, was formulated by distributing learning objectives found most important

EXHIBIT 3

STUDENT CENTERED MODEL

FOR

A SYSTEM OF INDIVIDUALIZED INSTRUCTION

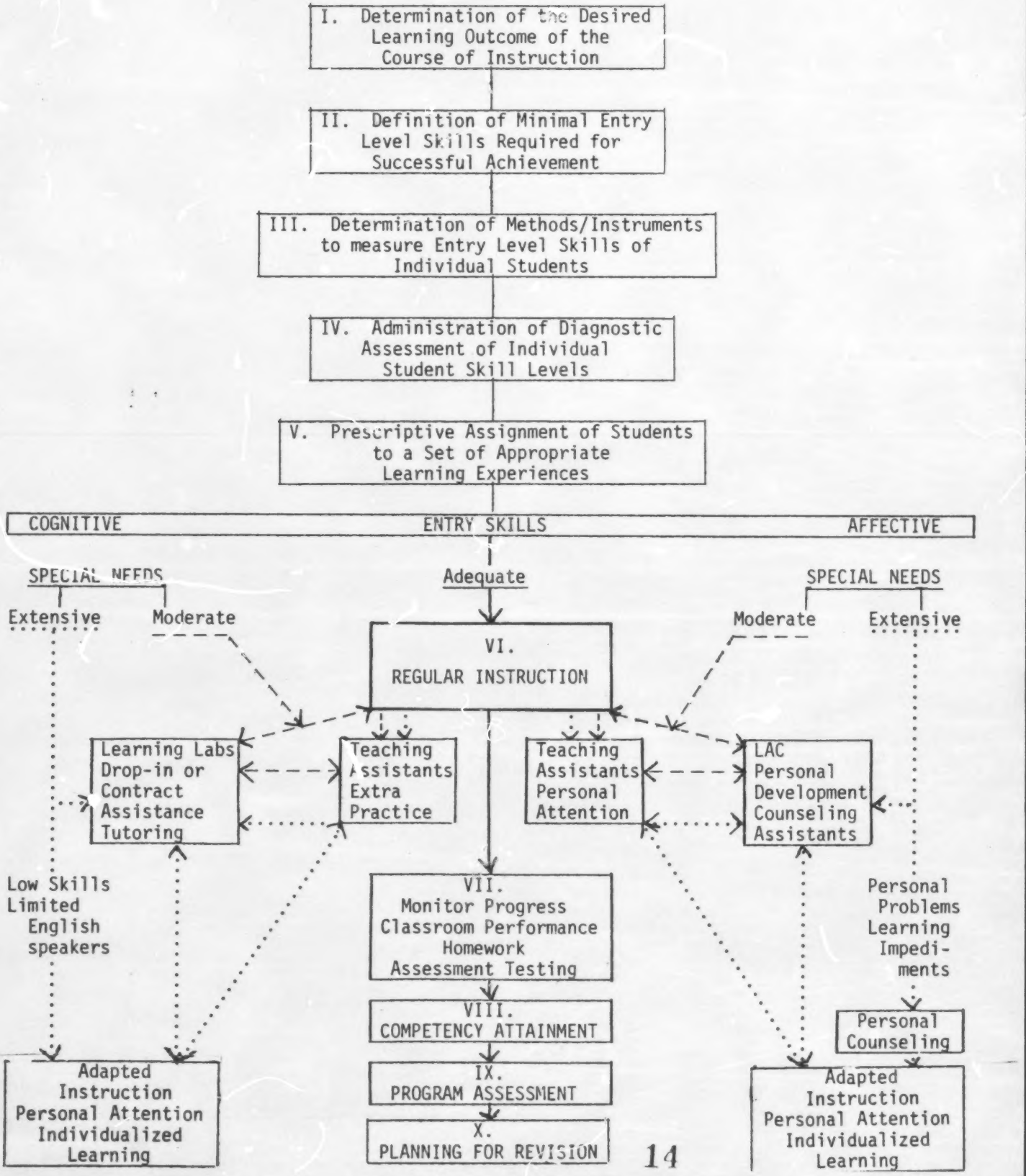
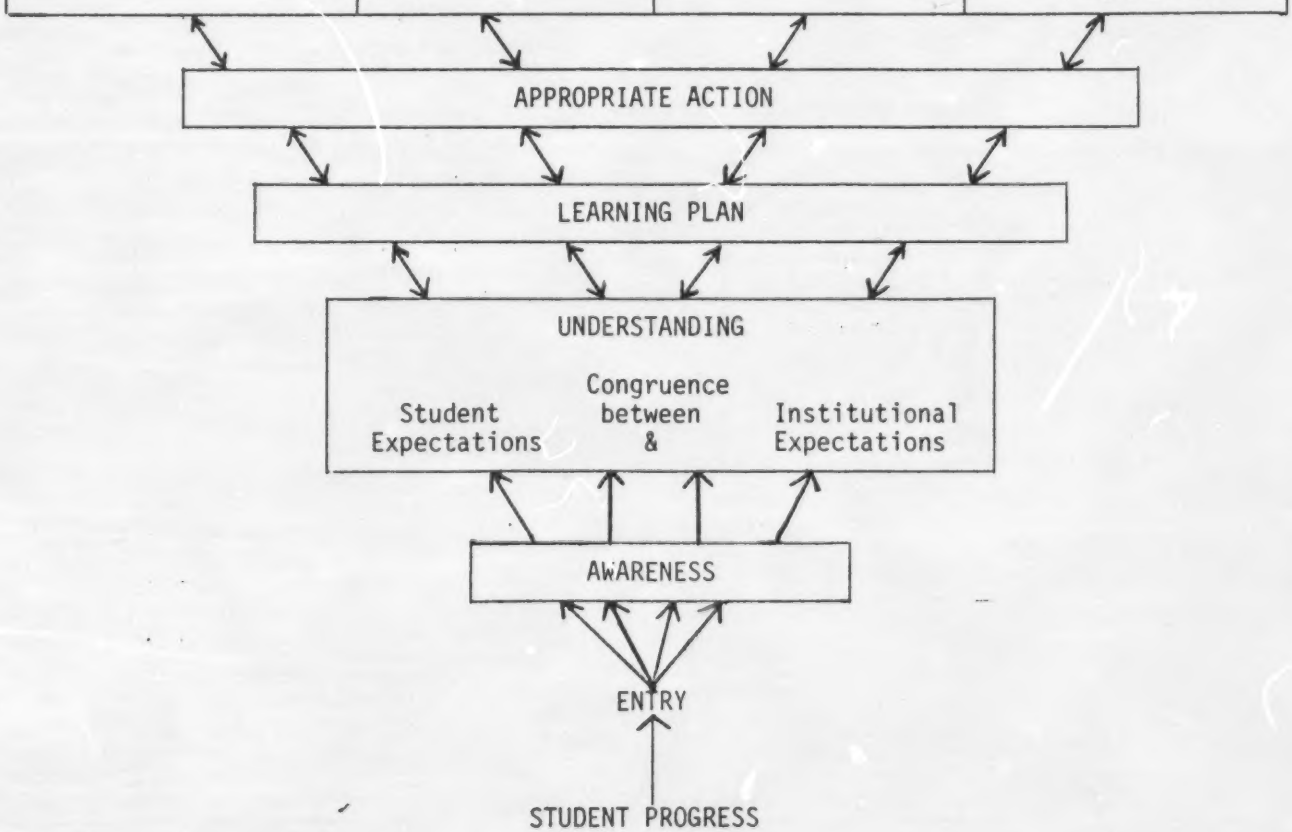


EXHIBIT 4

COUNSELING FOR STUDENT CENTERED DEVELOPMENT

Comprehensive Learning Objectives for Educational Progress

Personal and Interpersonal Growth	Basic Skill Development	Occupational Education	Liberal and Career Education
GOALS	COMMUNICATION	G E N E R A L	E D U C A T I O N
Determination	English	Career exploration & Decision making	Choice of Major
Accomplishment	Speaking		Academic Growth
	Reading	Vocational Skills	Spirit of Inquiry
	Writing		
Development of personal relationships	Mathematics	Work Experience	Aesthetic Growth
Time Management	Study Skills		
Self-Confidence	Problem Solving	Job Seeking Skills	Multi-Cultural Appreciation
Self-Discipline	Analytical Skills		
Coping Skills			Professional Preparation



to students and faculty among the major college functions, Personal Development, Basic Skill Development, Vocational and Academic Training Bloom's taxonomy of learning skills and the human system approach to organizational design are the foundations for the process prescriptions. It is congruent with all of the successful community college retention programs summarized by MacMillan in his proposal delivered to the CCJCA 1980 Conference on Research and Development and accommodates his recommendation "That retention programs include the opportunity for students to participate in a testing and self-assessment program through which they might gain a more realistic understanding of their potentials and a more sound assessment of their academic and career goals."[19]

Most programs contributing to successful retention have been supported by student financial aid or special funding garnered in the name of some classification of "disadvantagement". Having designed and demonstrated the effectiveness of models that address vocational education's century old problem in service to conflicting social, political and economic demands, the fundamental question becomes how to keep them alive within the system when funding ceases. Although the question appears in all RFP's, it has been rhetorical because funding agents have been perceived to lack sanctions or interest in the answer.

Despite Hunter and Sheldon's conclusions that all students are achieving their individual objectives, Gold's reports on increasing federal and state emphases on institutional accountability through VEDS and SAM indicate that continuing resouces will be allocated based on outcomes of "completers". Because of the political pressures and economic stringency described earlier, colleges must document successful course or program completion to secure allocations.

Faculty (instructors and counselors) are the key elements in retention. MacMillan recommends that they must become directly involved and design retention strategies that will help students to grow and he declares "the need for creative responsive leadership to raise important social questions, and to keep our institutions open to growth and change."[20] Issues seen as critical to faculty in the Rose study, however, do not include the highest priority issue of 1965: "Effectiveness and improvement of instruction". They want clarification of State - Local roles in governance, and clarification of responsibilities among levels of adult schools and postsecondary education for the distribution of students and teaching of basic skills. Having won (at least in Los Angeles) the highest salaries in the system

based solely on hours of work not merit or effectiveness, they are concerned with a guaranteed flow of better prepared students to protect jobs and quality of work.

The change of public values from accountability (measuring inputs) to productivity (measuring outcomes) will place increasing demands on community colleges to adapt their practices that will run counter to the political interests of faculty unions. Billion of dollars have been directed into community colleges to train all of these groups for effective employment, citizenship and educational progress in the name of equity which is an elusive goal to measure, and contracts negate evaluation of faculty based on measures of output or merit. Financial stringency in the name of productivity, however, may force such measures into negotiations and eliminate lifetime tenure when jobs are secured by the bargaining agent. Collegial relationships are bound to suffer if faculty are forced into a demonstration of ability to outproduce their colleagues.

Traditional instructors will have to be retrained or new instructors hired to meet the divergent learning needs of the new student populations, but funds will not cover such additions to the budget. It must be expected that a new level of teacher will emerge- paraprofessionals- who will receive less pay, work more hours and bridge the gap between the professors' expertise and the learning needs of students. Administrators and other personnel will have to develop stronger interaction with various constituencies in the external environment to open the institutions to the influences that will bring constructive evolution. New working relationships will emerge.

The Faculty Growth Model, Exhibit 5, derived from socio-technical job design and self-actualizing literature posits faculty members' needs for personal growth and professional fulfillment that will enable them to fulfill student learning needs and maintain a strong and mutually satisfying educational process. Because accelerating societal and student change demands that knowledge to be taught and the manner in which it is conveyed must change accordingly, faculty need to determine their own learning goals that are congruent with realistic institutional priorities. This is consistent with the lifelong learning theme that maintains enrollments. It requires, however, that institutions back their mission and goals statements, (common to every catalogue statewide) committing them to serve equitably their community and all its students by an equal commitment to support creative faculty efforts to achieve those goals. Many faculty complain that their best efforts to address

EXHIBIT 5

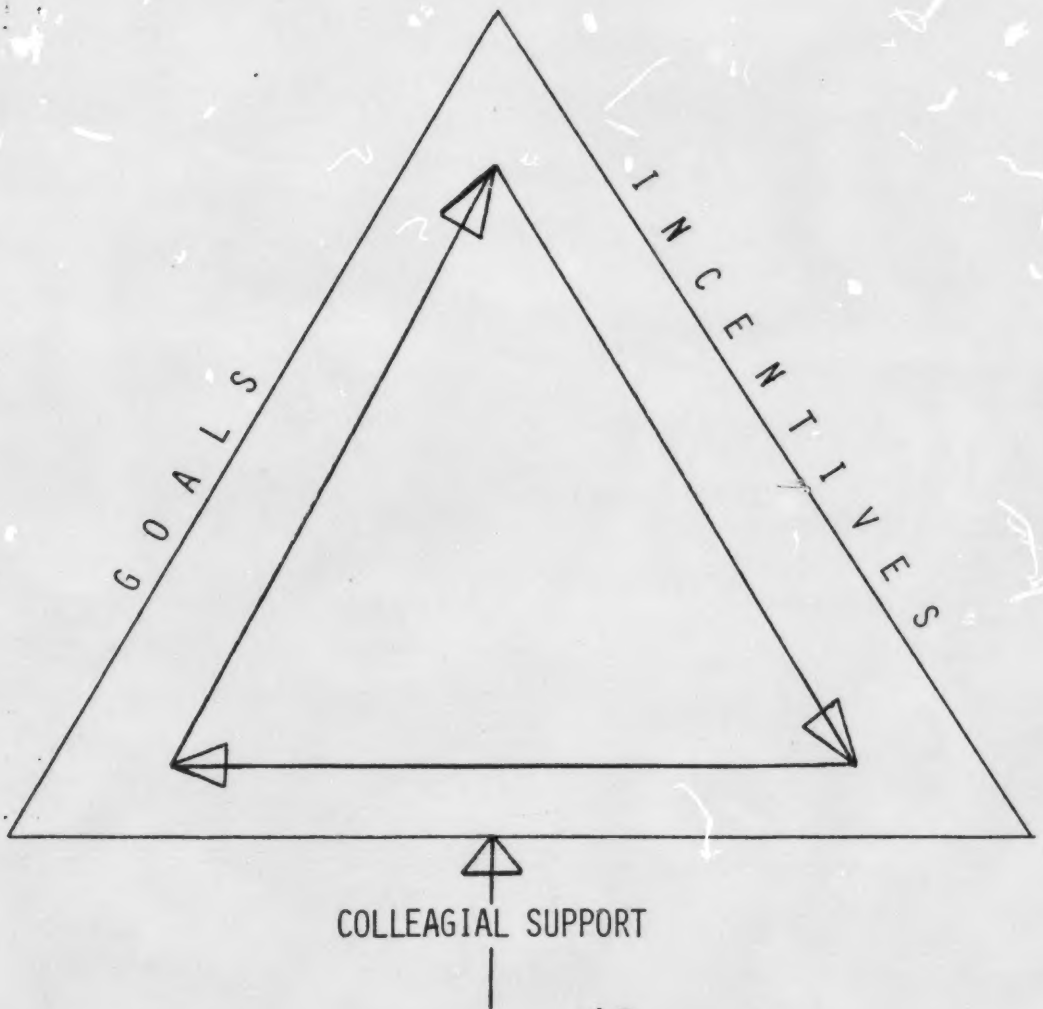
FACULTY GROWTH MODEL

THREE CRITICAL CONTRIBUTORS TO COMMITMENT

GOALS - that are congruent with college goals encompassing societal and student change.

INCENTIVES - that value individual creative efforts and teaching effectiveness.

COLLEAGIAL SUPPORT - that stimulates inquiry and protects risk-taking.



community demands and student interests have been rejected by administrative and colleaguial pressures to protect entrenched values and domains.

Maslow provides a schema based on his research that explains their reaction.

SAFETY ← D (Defense) Needs ← PERSON → B (Being) Needs → GROWTH

Each person must grow by moving through a hierarchical series of stages to satisfy the D needs before the B needs may be fulfilled. D needs are safety, belongingness, respect and self-esteem. B needs are actualization of potentials, capacities and talents. Actualization means becoming an integrated whole self, a unity of physical, cognitive, and affective learning. Gratification of needs at one level stimulates motivation to move to the next level. Stress and frustration (in manageable amounts) increase the appetite for growth. Growth becomes an exciting, rewarding process. Unmanageable frustration, however, causes regression to lower levels of need and safety. Creative faculty productivity, thus, rests upon administrative establishment of the context that will encourage and sustain risk-taking innovation - a demonstration of commitment to change.

Faculty need incentives. Two major questions identified by faculty at the Great Teacher's Seminar in 1980 were: "How do we recognize and reward the excellent teacher? (and) How do we help the 'less than good' teacher be better, and therefore, not have students be short changed?"

Collective Bargaining focuses attention on minimal standards, fulfilling defense needs but ignoring the drive toward actualization. There is a need therefore, to develop an incentive system that will support faculty desire to strengthen expertise and commitment to pursuit of excellence. It would serve administrative and student interests as well as revitalize flagging faculty satisfaction with the quality of their work life. Research can contribute to such development by determining the incentives that will encourage and support faculty growth and designing systems that are acceptable to Administration, Bargaining Agents, and teaching and counseling personnel.

The final component, support among colleagues. Those people, striving to grow and create positive learning environments in difficult environments need to know that they have support to test new ideas, and make themselves vulnerable to challenge, confident that friends will guard their safety needs. Researchers require such support for their value is proportional to the degree that they explore problems and identify developmental opportunities that may challenge entrenched practices.

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